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ABSTRACT

Family socialization is a social mechanism of the reproduction of social inequality from one generation to the next. The argument about the "class-specific socialization," which stopped in the 1970s, is being taken up again with this discussion and developed further towards a theory of socio-structural and situation-specific socialization. Also considered are the effects of family socialization on children's success in school. It seems clear that the motivational, cognitive, linguistic, and social demands made in school are probably less developed in disadvantaged families. Although all students, regardless of social origin, have the right to be accepted to all educational courses, the connection between family origin and selection in school--a discrimination against children from working-class families and favoritism of children whose parents are civil servants or employees--becomes apparent. In the Federal Republic of Germany, this process can very clearly be observed for this is--unlike other western industrial countries--an externally differentiated system of the "Sekundarstufe I" with organizationally separated types of school after the fourth grade. (BZ)

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SOCIAL INEQUALITY AND SELECTION IN THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

by

Klaus Hurrelmann

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Social Inequality and Selection in the Educational System

Results and implications of socio-structural socialization research

In this contribution , I will try to answer the question how far the socio-structurally rooted process of family socialization and selection in school can be taken as social mechanisms of the reproduction of social inequality from one generation to the next. A first step will be to go into the conceptional and empirical instruments provided for the analysis of social inequality by socio-structural theory. After that, I will show how one can work with these instruments in theoretical and empirical socialization research. The main point here is the presentation of theories and results of research about the influence of family socialization on cognitive, motivational, linguistical and social competences of children which are important for their later school careers. The argument about the - at that time so called - "class-specific socialization", which stopped in the 70s, is being taken up again with this discussion and developed further towards a socio-structural and situation-specific socialization.

After this analysis, I will go into the effects of family socialization on the children's success in school and introduce data and information about the social selectivity of the educational system. This leads to the question how family socialization and selection in school act in combination and whether the educational system might have an influence on the later occupational and social status that is independent of social origin. This is a question of some current socio-political significance since most industrial countries are at the end of an extended phase of expansion in the public educational system, of which a levelling of the social structure of inequality had been expected. The actual effects of this "educational expansion" will be gone

over again and their socio-political implications will be discussed.

1. The Concepts "Social Class" and "Social Situation" in Socialization Research

Max Weber has marked out the conceptional and empirical instruments which, according to Marx, have asserted themselves in socio-structural sociology research and theory to this day. Accordingly, the structure of social inequality is said to be determined "multi-dimensionally". The economic dimension stressed by Marx is taken as an essential, empirically often dominant, but not as the only significant one. The class situation, descibed by Weber (1964 :223) as the "typical chance of the provision with goods, the outward approaches to life, the inward fate of life of a multitude of people", is understood as an analytical category to which income and social prestige as well as the closely connected socio-cultural lifestyle including the level of education are added as equal categories.

The social structure theory of a Weber cut does not doubt that, in western industrial countries, we are still dealing with class societies according to Marx's definition. The classification of our societies as "class societies", however, which is accurate in theory, is worthless for a meaningful analysis of society in education and socialization theory. The real differences in the material and immaterial conditions of life, especially in those which influence the structures and processes of socialization and education, are not precisely and completely included in the concept of classes. The position in the structure of ownership of the conditions of production is no longer the only criterion for social conditions of life in today's capitalistic welfare state. The occupational position of the individual member of society in the occupational system and-

connected with it - the kind of working conditions, the social prestige as well as form and size of income are of a great significance. With the help of these indicators, social "levels", which complete and widen the concept of classes, can be constructed in Weber's footsteps by means of identifying social groups which occupy an equal position in one or more dimensions of social inequality.

What kind of levels are formed and how they are delimitted from each other is decided by theoretical and empirical criteria. The aim of analysis is the identification of those situations relevant in socio-structural theory which are in a hierarchical relation to the chances od disposal of material and immaterial resources of society. It is a question of identifying social situations which differ according to their participation in social power, social income and to the social regard awarded to them, and which presumably provide various possibilities of personal development for those persons characterized by them.(Handl /Mayer /Müller 1977).

Doubts have arisen in the past years, whether the classical conception of the social level can meet these requirements. Trying to increase the proportion of acknowledged variance, especially in the analysis of education and socialization processes, lavish methods of combining indicators of social situations have been introduced. These approaches are interesting for socialization research (Bertram 1981: 141). A most exact description of the actual situation of a family is the requirement for an analysis of conditions of family socialization. It is therefore useful to include further parameters of social situation beside the classical dimensions of social inequality, which - according to the results of most stratification analyses in modern industrial countries - have a close connection with the occupational position. This includes the infra-structural supply of the residential aera, the furnishing and

size of the residence, social origin and cultural tradition of the family of origin, inter-generative attachment in certain situations of social inequality, experiences of socio-historical events and other things. These parameters mutually influence each other and occur in certain constellations which can be identified in typical clusters each.

The considerations presented favour an expansion of the level concept towards a concept of social situation. The specific combination of the shapings of criteria of social inequality carries a great importance for the life and acting of the members of the family concerned. It is a matter of explaining the actual conditions of life, of asking which dimensions and manifestations of social inequality in everyday life really play a role in which groups of the population, and how each group deals with the specific structural resources, risks and stress. The conditions of life constitute the "socialization enviroment" of the family. They determine their inner structure of relations and the educationally relevant actions of their members.

There have been signs that the power of differentiating social enviroments has increased during past years, so that some freedom for the interpretation of social conditions of life and a broader scope to design life have developed. In some subsidiaries it could be observed that, in spite of objectively equal social situation, those things that were held for desirable and advantageous and which therefore were relevant to inequality, have grown apart (Hradil 1982). This fact forces one to carefully pay attention to subcultural enviroments, which can carry on and differentiate the influences of levels. According to today's state of knowledge, however, the great falling apart of the individual's positions into various dimensions of unequal situations - as it was claimed by Bertram(1981: 162)- can only be noticed in social groups of a high

social mobility. The "inconsistency of status" is not as yet structurally typical for industrial societies. The search for homogenous social situations does not mean that a homogeneity must be given in any possible respect. What is decisive is the homogeneity concerning theoretically essential characteristics of structure for social inequality (Rosenbaum 1983)..

2. The Influence of Social and Material Situation on Family Socialization

In which way does family socialization help to produce social inequality? In earlier functionalistic and materialistic family theories, family has been described as the central authority of arranging the reproduction of conformist social characters. It has been supposed that family is a social microcosm of society, which passes on the basic values of society almost unbroken to the individual. This mechanistic point of view has been pushed back by socialization theory in favour of a more differentiated conception. This conception can roughly be devided into two different, yet interconnecting models which are to be presented now.

2.1. The Linear Model: Experiences at Work as Determinants of Socialization

The linear model of family socialization research starts from the assumption that there is a direct relation between social class, according to the occupational group the adult members of family belong to, the educational methods of these members of the family, and certain features of the children's personalities which are relevant for success in school (intelligence, achievement motivation, linguistical competences). The position of the family in the organized working process is regarded the dominant variable, structuring consciousness and actions.

The Model of Kohn

The most influential formulation of this conception comes from Kohn (1969, 1981). In extensive empirical investigations, he has collected instances for the fact that the parents' objectives for the process of educating their children correlates with their general moral concepts. These moral concepts in turn, are directly dependent on the scope for action and orientation at work, which is differentially designed depending on the occupational group one belongs to. So, the value syndrome "conformity" is most strongly represented by those fathers whose work consists of very simply structured repetitive tasks, the syndrome "self-organization", however, by those who deal with differentiatedly structured and complexly organized occupations. According to Kohn, the respective characters of supervision and control at work, the scope for disposition and interaction and the substantial form of the occupation (working with things or persons) also have an effect in some direction (1969: 165).
According to this investigation, it is the occupational group the adult members of the family belong to that must be regarded as a highly significant factor of human behaviour in general and of educational behaviour in particular. The background conditions of working and living chances are established by this membership of an occupational group. Kohn (1969:190) summarizes apodicticly: "Work shapes human beings; either it broadens their horizons, or it narrows them." A different view of social reality following differing social objectives is developed by the membership of an occupational group. By means of their educational behaviour, parents convey to their children those attitudes and plans of behaviour which seem to be extremely important to them on their own horizon of experiences, which in turn is formed by their occupation. They project into the child those ideas and expectations which are relevant to themselves.

The educational style of the parents leads to differing features of the children's personalities having a direct effect on school and future occupational abilities.

Empirical Development of the Model

The model of Kohn is build up beautifully simple: He infers educationally relevant moral concepts of the parents directly from features of the occupational situation. This simple linear conception is methodologically and theoretically questionable because intervening variables are kept left aside. Kohn's studies do not even empirically lead to fully satisfying results. While the connection between working situation and a person's features of personality can clearly be shown, the connection between the membership of a social class and the educational styles is only weakly developed empirically and statistically. The membership of an occupational group can only explain a variance of 12% of educationally relevant moral concepts (Abrahams/ Sommerkorn 1976, Gecas 1979: 382, Steinkamp 1980:269). Even if the occupational conditions are more differentiated - in Kohn's more recent investigation (1981: 173), which is extremely carefully designed, the grade of occupationally self-determination, the grade of workload, and the uncertainty of jobs are also included besides the position in the organization - an essential improvement of the data situation can not be expected. I judge this to be an indication of faults in the basic model.

Theoretical and methodological deficits are partly reduced in some follow-up ~~models~~ investigations, which - atthe same time - have more or less clearly replied the tendencies of Kohn's results. By means of a refined equipment, a clearing up of variances of up to 26% for the parents' educational attitudes could be gained. For the most part, a combination of stratification variables occupational status, training and income of father and mother was used for work (for the Federal Republic of

Germany: Grüneisen/ Hoff 1977, Steinkamp/ Stief 1978, Fröhlich 1978, Wegner 1979). Bertram developed multivariable technics of analysis, leading to differentiated variable taxonomies for recording contextual socialization effects. The development of educational attitudes of working adult members of the family is therefore very strongly dependent on the grade of working autonomy experienced at work, and on the fact whether these attitudes are adopted by the partner (Bertram 1978: 197). The differentiatedly approaching studies of Bertram gain an even higher quota of clearing up variances. In the investigations presented, there are some starting points which overcome the linear model of socialization influences. The theoretical and empirical transformation of the approaches, however, only succeeds in parts. Moreover, all investigations keep the recording of the parents' educational attitudes and do not advance towards the actual educational behaviour. What remains unexplained is how the educational events internal to the family are influenced by experiences external to the family. Here, the differentiated "multi-level model", which has already been pre-designed by Steinkamp/ Stief and Bertram, sets in and further develops the previous conceptions and knowledge.

2.2. The Multi-Level Model: Family Interaction and Communication Structure as a Medium of Socialization

The linear model fades out the phere of family interaction and communication structure, which is essential for socialization processes. The multi-level model, however, starts from the central assumption that the social situation of a family finds complex expression in the structure of roles and the corresponding interaction and communication structure of the family, which as such must be included in an extensive analysis. Only by means of this intermediate step of analysing the structure of relations in the family can a satisfying

explanation of socialization processes be achieved according to this conception.

Basis of Conception

In the multi-level model, various "levels" of analysing reality are delimitted from each other (Geulen/ Hurrelmann 1980: 60). In scientific usage of language, this procedure has the aim to sum up related phenomena, facts and concepts from a certain point of view. The levels have to be taken as constitutive parts of an integrated system in whic each level of analysis constitutes relevant conditions for the other levels. So, the construction of levels of analysis primarily serves to have at hand a conceptional framework of rules for the process of constructing a theory. This framework serves as support for the cut and design of the theory. For the subject we are discussing here, an obvious choice is to regard the family system of roles as one level of analysing reality. Its function is to mediate between the social situation of the family and the individual development of the children as members of the family.

The Model Of Bernstein

Without particularly defining it as a multi-level model of analysis, Bernstein (1972) developed a category system which distinguishes between a macro-level (Stratification system), a group-level (Family roles system) and an individual level (Features of the child's personality).Bernstein develops typologies of characterizing different systems of family roles and the involved ways of social control of the behaviour of its members. He differentiates the role systems according to the principles which determine the distribution of decision-making powers within a family. If the sphere of making decisions belongs to the formal status of the members of the family, this type of family is called positional.

Opposite to this, there is a type of family where the sphere of making decisions is rather a function of the psychic qualities of a person. While positional families produce a closed system of communication, Bernstein attributes an open system to person-orientated families.

Corresponding with these communicative systems, there are various ways of social control, that is the influence on the children's behaviour. Social control in person-orientated families is therefore realized by verbally elaborated means, which are orientated by the person, while social control in positional families is realized by less developed verbal means, orientated by the formal status of the child (Bernstein 1972:217). The linguistic development of the child is influenced by the chosen verbal means of social control and, according to Bernstein, also acts as a bridge for the mastering of cognitive abilities. Linguistic and cognitive abilities are taken as key variables of success in school.
The educational attitudes and behaviour of the parents receive the appropriate theoretical status in this model: They are an expression and picture of the parents' tackling of their roles in and out of the family and reflect the conscious and unconscious educational conceptions of the parents. In spite of all justified criticism Bernstein's model has attracted because of its often narrow form only based on static dichotomies, and because of the insufficient empirical cover (Gecas 1979), it does in fact represent an essential theoretical progress compared with the linear "chain model" in the given respect.

The Development of the Model

A lot of the newer conceptions of family socialization profit from the Bernstein conception, often without expressing this explicitly. Today, with a varying accentuation in sociological and psychological family

research, it is a still disputed question whether the development of children's features of personality has a close connection to the structure of family interaction and communication. According to this conception, a specific encoding of enviromental experiences of the members of a family is contained in the system of family interaction and communication. In this encoding, a way of tackling the social and material enviroment becomes evident which is specific of each family. Each of the systems of family interaction provides specific cognitive and social programs of categorizing and solving problems for the adjustment to the social and material enviroment.

The aim of newer empirical family research is to question the family specific social enviroment for the quality of conditions for the child's development, that is to take it as a "socialization enviroment". In the ecological socialization research in the tradition of Bronfenbrenner (1981), the social and spatial constitution of this enviroment is to the fore of interest. The family enviroment is examined according to its social and material qualities, which constitute the potential sphere of experiences of the members of the family with various potentials of stimulus, experience and stress.

In ecologically orientated family research, a differentiated taxonomy of family enviroments is developed and empirically examined. Family enviroment is looked at as the potential sphere of experience of the members of the family. The actual experiences of each of the members influence interactive events in the family. These interactive events on the other hand, constitute the medium for the children's developmental processes. Although the material and social enviroment of the family determines the quality and extent of the child's possible experiences of learning and socialization, the parents do arrange the enviroment for the acquiring of this "ecological offer" by means of pre-shaping the actual

sphere of experience and finding certain enviroments. According to this model, it depends on the parental style of education, on the relation between the partners in the marriage, and on the family climate whether this happens and in which way it happens. The actual sphere of experience and the features of the parents' personalities are regarded as essential factors of influence on the parental style of education. In accordance with this model, the cluster of relations which forms the basis of the educational style has an effect on the socialization achievements of the family. Empirical examinations of the connection between these types and the social class the families belong to have produced clear indications to unfavourable impulses for the cognitive and social development in little stimulating and much stressing family surroundings, which can be found in large numbers in the lower social classes (Lukesch et al. 1980: 171, Walter 1981, Schneewind et al. 1983).

Enviromentally orientated sociological family research also starts out from this differentiated conception. Just as in ecological research, the process of family socialization is thought to be influenced by economical, ecological, cultural and political background conditions and by the prevailing extent of the available material and immaterial resources. The system of family interaction and communication is designed as the medium by means of which these background conditions are transformed to an emotionally experiencable and symbolically organized field of learning. Families have their own dynamism of relations; they arrange enviromental influences and conditions for their members (Beicht et al.1976, Kaufmann et al. 1980, Lüscher et al. 1982, Vaskovicz 1982, Weiss 1982).

In these newer approaches of research, the family is seen as an interactive system of subjects who are productively assimilating reality. The influencing of personal experiences and standards of a member of the

family at work is - according to this conceptions - not directly and one-directionally passed on to the interaction and communication between the members of the family. Interaction and communication between the partners in a marriage are also influenced by occupational and non-occupational experiences of the partners, by the monumentum of the partnership, by past experiences of life of both partners (here family traditions enter in, which in turn are determined by the social situation of the families of origin), by the size of the family and by the stimuli and influences of the direct social enviroment. Even if we know the features of personality and standards of an individual or even of all members of a family, we do not know the structure of interaction and communication which is characteristic of the family. This structure can not exclusively be explained by an addition of features of personality and individual standards, but by the interaction between these in correspondence with the prevailing constellation of the enviromental situation (Neidhardt 1975, Kreppner 1980, Tyrell 1982).

Analogously, it seems certain that the structure of family interaction and communication does not leave any isomorphic structures of personality in the children. As independent subjects, they productively and actively work on the social enviroment they face. The specific constellation of features of personality (e.g. social receptiveness expressing itself in certain forms of enviromental participation, the way of arranging social contact etc.) plays an essential role here. It depends on the features of personality which stimuli and offers of the social enviroment and opportunities for social contact are accepted or rejected. The enviromental condition as it is arranged by the family constitutes the sphere of experience of an individual. This sphere gains a certain quality of experience by means of subjective acquisition and confrontation (Hurrelmann 1983a).

2.3. The Explanatory Quality of the Models Discussed

The presentation of the preceeding chapters shows that the theoretical and empirical quality of explanation of both models has destinct limits. Theoretically, the multi-level model ought to be superior to the linear model because of its more exact and differentiated reference to reality. The linear model can be subsumed to the multi-level model without great difficulties in theory. The multi-level model starts out from the meta-theoretical conception that the human being is a productive assimilator of reality and active resolver of problems. Here, it clearly dissociates itself from the theoretically fatal deterministic and one-factor conceptions of the development of personality, which are predominant in earlier socialization research and which are indirectly still the force behind the linear model. It is obviously the case that the multi-level model makes possible the more exact description and analysis of socialization conditions. It would be an exaggeration however, to claim that a satisfying theoretical explanation of the coming about of various courses of socialization in diverse socio-structurally based family settings has already been given with the aid of the multi-level model. The theoretical conversion of the multi-level model has not by any means been totally successful yet and meets with a number of complex problems. What is extremely difficult amd still unsatisfying, however, is the empirical conversion of the multi-level model. This conversion - unlike things are for the linear model, where the classical instruments of social research can be used - is still in its beginnings. The research process has not yet got over the stage of empirical scientific examination of partial structures of the multi-level model. Valuable impulses have been given by means of explorative case studies, like those of Schütze (1977) (also see the research survey by Bösel 1980).

Looking in context at the presented theoretical and empirical results which group around around both of the merging model conceptions, it seems appropriate to talk about proofs of a situation-specific socialization. Some of the empirical results are unsatisfyingly supported, but nevertheless, they allow a clear statement of tendency: The social and material situation of a family determines the background conditions for the child's process of education and socialization. Both macrostructural studies about work experiences and investigations in the internal social world of the family - differentiatedly set in case study kind - have reached the conclusion that certain processes of family socialization varying specific to the situation can be classified which have a systematic connection to the central dimensions of social inequality. The various constellations of the social situation of a family can not always be associated directly and in all features with certain social classes, but there is no doubt that the indicator of classes "occupational position" is the empirically strongest single factor of explanation because of the reasons given. It can be proved that a relatively little differentiating cluster of interaction and communication and the correspondingly little complex "transfer" of enviromental influences is partly influenced by an unfavourable social and material situation. In spite of socio-structural processes of differentiation mentioned in chapter 1, a concentration of unfavourable social conditions of life still takes place in "lower" social classes, especially in those families where the main providers are unskilled workers or unemployed. There are in fact intervening social factors, especially in form of neighbourhood or peergroup influences, but they can only cancel the clearly dominating effects of the social and material situation in exceptional cases.

If we look at the connection between family socialization and selection in school, the significance of these facts for the reproduction of social inequality becomes

apparent: The motivational, cognitive, linguistic and social demands made in school are provably less developed in the named disadvantaged families than in non-workers' families. In the next chapter, it will be explained that children of the lower social classes have developed abilities and competences in their family socialization which form unfavourable conditions of starting and enduring the process of selection in school, and which cause that these children come off badly in the process of selection in school. In spite of the mentionaed theoretical and methodological deficits all social science research has to cope with, the results of family socialization research presented here clearly show the general mechanism which leads to the reproduction of social inequality: Children from all social classes of the population are prepared towards those cognitive and social competences which are essential for life in the sub-cultural world of their family. With the process of growing up, the children learn the adaptive competences for "survivial" in their sub-culture. The specific conditions of life of each group of the population demand and stimulate that behaviour which orientates towards the respective sub-culture. The family arranges the enviroment and in this function has a relative autonomy with respect to influences of the society as a whole. But the socio-economical conditions of life act as mighty backgroud conditions for this process of arranging. Even if I as a scientist start - as I have done here - from a multi-dimensional model of social differentiation in which social inequality can be caused by various socio-structural factors, even if I start from the family as an interactive system of subjects who productively assimilate reality, there is no escaping the knowledge that the "occupational group" the parents belong to is the empirically most meaningful single factor for the result of success in school. this knowledge emphasizes the high status of family socialization for the reproduction of social inequality.

3. Selection in School - A Reproductive Mechanism of Social Inequality

3.1. The Connection between Family Origin and Selection in School

Children usally enter the school system at an age of 5 or 6 with the competences and qualities they have developed in the process of family socialization. Here they are estimated and classified according to their capability following fixed formal criteria. In the first grades the students are already assigned to different positions of ability. Later they are given intermediate or final certificates, which successively control the entry to various courses of secondary education. This process of assignment is also a process of selection according to social origin. Although all students, no matter of which social origin, have got the right to be accepted to all educational courses, the result of the destributive process is clear: In no state in the world, children from different social classes are represented in the various educational courses and among the graduates of these educational courses correlative to their proportional part in the total population (Husen 1972, Persell 1977, Lüschen 1979, Niessen/ Peschar 1982).

Statistical Data about the Selective Process

The unequal distribution according to social origin very clearly reveals itself in various outstanding phases of the formalized educational courses: On the distribution to the educational courses of the "Sekundarstufe I" (classes 5 to 1o), which, after the end of primary school, usually begin after the 4^{th}, 5^{th} or 6^{th} grade; on the entry and the distribution to the educational courses of the "Sekundarstufe II" (classes 11 to 13), which, after the end of compulsory school attendance, usually set in after 9 or 1o years in school; and finally, on the entry and the distribution to the educational courses of universities after passing through the "Sekundarstufe II", which extends to the 12^{th} or 13^{th} year of school in most countries.

In all the three phases, a discrimination of children from working-class families and a privileging especially of children whose parents are civil servants or employees becomes apparent, increasingly in fact in the given order. In the Federal Republic of Germany, this process can very clearly be observed for there is - contrasting to most other western industrial countries - an externally differentiated system of the "Sekundarstufe I" with organisationally separated types of school after the fourth grade (Organized in "Hauptschule", "Realschule", "Gymnasium" and, as special types "Gesamtschule" and "Sonderschule"). The analysis of the latest micro-census made by the "Statistisches Bundesamt" (Federal Statistical Office) shows that the great majority of working-class children still go to the "Hauptschule" (See table 1).

Table 1

Distribution of the 13 to 14 year old students in the different types of school according to the occupational position of the head of the family in the Federal Republic of Germany in 1979 (in per cent).

type of school	occupational position of the head of the family					total of students (no differentiating to social origin)
	self-employed persons	civil servants	employees	workers	not employed persons	
Hauptschule	39.2	20.7	26.3	62.7	59.8	46.3
Realschule	26.7	24.2	29.0	20.5	17.3	23.5
Gymnasium	28.7	49.6	38.2	9.5	14.3	23.4
Gesamtschule	2.8	3.7	4.0	4.3	3.4	3.9
Others (incl. no information given)	2.6	1.8	2.5	3.0	5.2	2.9
total of students (no differentiating to types of school)	14.2	8.4	25.6	42.4	9.4	100.0

According to this data, 63% of the 13 to 14 yearold children from working-class families attended the "Hauptschule" in 1979. The correlating numbers for children of employees' and civil servants' families are very low by comparison. For these children, the attendance of the "Gymnasium is predominant, while workers' children are extremely underrepresented here. At comprehensive schools the attendance is socially rather balanced. There, the inequality of chances between the social classes is clearly lower per balance than in the classified school system.

Detailed scientific research has proved that educational involvement and success in individual courses of education differ once more also within the great categories of vocational status, namely by occupational groups, graduation of the parents, socio-ecological constellation of residential area and other factors of the social situation. The occupational status of the parents, of course, definitely turns out to be the strongest single factor for an explanation (Peisert 1967, Oevermann et al. 1976, Meulemann 1979, Rodax/ Spitz 1982).

With the time of school, the educational involvement is permanently shifting towards a privileging of children from employees' and civil servants' families. This process becomes extremely apparent on the transition to the higher grades of the "Gymnasium" ("Sekundarstufe II"). The proportions of children from working-class families who change to these grades are clearly below those of children who had entered the educational course of the "Sekundarstufe I" at a "Gymnasium". On another threshold of selection in the educational system, this permanent selective process of the educational course of school becomes obvious again; namely on the transition to the universities and professional schools. Here, the proportions of children from working-class families sharply decline once more. Obviously, the students from middle and upper classes are more successful in achieving and maintaining the status once reached in the high-ranking educational courses. Consequently, the graduation certificates

are unequally distributed according to social origin of the students. Two thirds of the children from working-class families, for instance, achieve the graduation of the "Hauptschule" as their highest school qualification; a proportion of about 9% of those children achieve the graduation of the "Gymnasium" (Bundesminister für Bildung und Wissenschaft, 1981). Among the graduates of the "Gymnasium" with excellent graduation marks, children from working-class families are even more underrepresented: Marks which are sufficient for overcoming the hurdles of admission to subjects like medicine or pharmacy are only reached by 3.5% of the working-class children, compared to 1o% of the middle and upper class children. As it is furthermore even harder for working-class children to endure a delay with the overflowing courses of study, those academical courses of study that promise a gain in prestige and income are partly ruled out for them. Their choice of subjects therefore differs from that of the other social classes. Only a comparatively small proportion of working-class children reaches the end of a university study (OECD 1978/1979, especially "Fallstudie Bundesrepublik Deutschland; Preisert 1981).

Approaches of Explaining the Selective Process

The statistical data show that there is a gradually increasing social selection by social origin all over the educational course. How can this selective process be explained? According to all existing investigations, it is basically the discrepancy between the cognitive, motivational and linguistical requirements expected in the system of interaction and communication in school and the cognitive, motivational and linguistical competences children from working-class families have developed in the process of family socialization, that has to be blamed for the selective process. This discrepancy grows with the progressing level of formal education. The crux of this explanation is the assumption that family socialization brings about certain features and

competences in children from working-class families which are appropriate to their subcultural surroundings, but which clash with the school culture because of their shaping and profile. Teachers, as the representatives of school culture, deliberately or subconsciously support those children above all whose cognitive, motivational and linguistical competences agree with their own ones and those traditionally predominant in school.

This explanation assumes structurally established differences in demands between family and school. That is why children from working-class families are confronted with cognitive and social expectations they can not fulfil. School, which constitutes a significant enviroment for children as from their 5th or 6th year of life, opposes the working-class children as a strange and burdening sphere of experience. This feelings of strangeness influence the degree of possible identification with the school culture and the degree of engagement in mastering the demands made by school (Arbeitsgruppe Schulforschung 1980: 37). Both these variables influence their capability in school. The ability to maintain their engagement in school even in times of short-term setbacks in the development of productivity, is especially affected by this.

The attendance of the formally high-ranking courses of education constitutes an essential socio-culural performance of adaptation for children from working-class families. The normative reference for the valuation of achievements generally is the prevailing developmental situation of children of the same age who come from the middle and upper social classes and whose cognitive, motivational and linguistical competences as well as their success in school are good on average. If working-class children want to be successful in school, they have to make a partial adaptation to this school culture especially shaped by the middle classes. At the same time, the culture of the family of origin continues to exist, meeting the children with its own demands

on behaviour every single day. So, the children have to identify with the prevailing pedagogical culture of school, but they cannot flee from their family backgrounds. They are in a permanent behavioural dilemma. The children have to give up some of the behaviour in school which is adequate and accepted in the family enviroment; and, in the family sphere, they sometimes have to fade out just the very behaviour that is looked at as appropriate in the sphere of school behaviour (Hurrelmann 1975: 11). Children from middle and upper classes, on the other hand, experience a correspondence of family and school culture. Moreover, they can rely on a wide arsenal of material and immaterial support on the mastering of demands in school which is put at disposal by their parents for a long period of time. The consequence is a less stressing process of adjustment and better endurance in educational courses of school.

3.2. Effects of Structural Changes in the Educational System on Social Selection

In spite of the objectively unfavourable starting conditions for working-class children in the selective process in school, there has been a relative improvement of the educational involvement of these children in many countries, especially within the previous three decades. This improvement coincided with a rapid extension of the public school and university system after the Second World War. This "educational expansion" has to be looked at in the context of extensive economical and social processes of change in the western industrial countries.

The Process of "Educational Expansion"

The example of the Federal Republic of Germany shows that the superficial trigger of the educational expansion was the increasing demand of all families for training in high-ranking

educational courses of the school and university system. That was why the proportion of students of the "Realschule" and "Gymnasium" in the students of the 7th grade rose from 26% to 50% between 1960 and 1980 alone and reached values about 70% in some areas (Hegelheimer 1983). The chances of reaching the graduations of these types of school got essentially better during these 20 years as well: Related to the 15 year old, respectively 18 year old resident population 41% acquired the graduation of the "Realschule" after ten grades and 22% the graduation of the "Gymnasium" after thirteen grades in 1980, while this proportion had only been about 20%, respectively 7% some twenty years earlier (Bundesminister für Bildung und Wissenschaft 1982: 62). So, there was a rise not only in the rates of transition to the "Realschule" and "Gymnasium", which are highly classified in the prestige of the educational courses, but also in the rates of success at these schools.

This means that an educational expansion has taken place in the Federal Republic of Germany proceeding on the lines of the existing school system. The attraction of the traditional careers at "Realschule" and "Gymnasium" proved to be extremely strong even in families which had not been orientated towards the educational courses of these schools a generation before. Working-class children have also gained from the educational expansion: The data about the make-up of the students make this very clear: Only 5% of the 15 year old children from working-class families attended the "Gymnasium" in 1950, in 1980 the number was 9.5%. The working-class families have mobilized all energy to obtain access to the high-ranking educational courses and to maintain their hold there (Bundesminister für Bildung und Wissenschaft 1981).

This process of a proportional increase of working-class children in highly qualifying courses of education coincided with a general process of educational expansion. So, the enormous upheaval of social patterns of education within the past three decades has lead to an improvement of educational

chances for children from working-class families. A perceptible improvement of the occupational chances, however, has not yet set in.

There are two reasons for this (Hurrelmann 1983b). First of all, a direct consequence of the educational expansion has been the change of the socio-political status of the educational courses of "Realschule" and "Gymnasium". These educational courses are no longer elite institutions, but they are typical for the majority of an age-class. The consequence is a decrease of the social significance of the graduation certificates of these educational courses. The graduation of the "Gymnasium" , which is acquired by almost a quarter of an age-class nowadays, and the graduation of the "Realschule", which is acquired by more than half of an age-class (including students who go for the "Gymnasium" graduation) do not carry the significance of a guarantee of access to ambitious courses of education and qualified or highly qualified occupations. Within twenty years, the graduation certificate of the "Realschule" acquired after ten years of school has become a sort of "standart equipment of civilization" for the young member of society. Today, it is a necessary instrument of access to medium or higher levels of occupational careers, especially to the qualified business and services occupations. The "Abitur" ('A-Levels') has also become a requirement not only for the access to university studies, but also to some fields of occupation. A general education that goes beyond the compulsory school attendance "above" the educational course of the "Hauptschule" has in fact become a necessary but not sufficient condition of access to attractive courses of occupational training.

With that, the educational expansion has lead to a quick increase in the pyramid of formal qualifications of the school graduations. Even in the externally structured school system of the Federal Republic of Germany, the selection after the 4th grade at elementary schools has lost some of its sharpness. Children from families which previously were "aliens

to school culture" stay in the high-ranking educational courses ever longer; ever more of them acquire even the ambitious graduation certificates. But these certificates can no longer give the same occupational guarantee of status that they have still ensured one generation before. A hard competition of replacement takes place on the market for training and occupation. The companies and administrations prefer the formally higher qualified students to the formally less qualified ones. The increase of the average level of education leads to a cut-back of the occupational chances for the formally less qualified school graduates and almost to a shut-off of the chances for school-leavers without graduation certificates.

These processes of replacement take place so quickly and effective, because - and that is the second reason - they coincide with an unfortunate development of the national economy. In the 70s, there is in fact a relative increase of jobs in qualified occupational groups, but it does not match the pace and extent of formally qualified graduates leaving the school system. This fact alone causes a surplus of graduates from "Realschule" and "Gymnasium" for attractive occupations. The development of the national economy is also marked by a contraction of the labour market that can be traced back to the use of most modern technology, to an increase of productivity and to contractions of sales on saturated markets for goods and services.

So, there is the combination of several factors which does not even guarantee an adequate occupation in the vocational system to those children from working-class families who are formally successful in the educational system of school. In spite of a redoubling of the proportions of working-class children attending a "Realschule" or "Gymnasium" within one generation, this change does not result in an improvement of qualified occupational chances. The threshold of selection has shifted: It is not too strong anymore at the entry

to the "Sekundarstufe" of the school system, but it becomes apparent in all its strength at the entry to the courses of vocational training and the occupational system now.

Effects of the Educational Expansion on Social Selection

The outlined process of educational expansion has lead to an essential increase of the formal significance of the educational system in the process of reproducing social inequality. The transfer of economic power and disposal from one generation to the following is hardly possible today without the interconnection of educational courses and graduation certificates of school. By means of attending educational courses of school and acquiring graduation certificates, it is now possible in principle that - from one generation to the next - there is a redistribution of educational and occupational chances that could have an unfavourable effect on the previously privileged families.

Judging by the given socio-statistical data however, this effect does only set in on a small range. And that is because those families who might potentionally be disadvantaged by the increase in importance of the "way of reproduction in school" develop effective countermeasures. Even in their opinion, the social status of the subsequent generation can only be maintained or improved, if the children acquire adequate educational certificates and with that also the formal requirements for access to a promising training and occupational position. For them and for all the other families, the choice of school has gained the character of setting the course, which has an effect on the children's careers in occupation and life for a very long time. This choice expresses the expectations and demands on future social chances.

This initial situation has caused the "educational market" of schools and universities to become a "main battlefield in the class struggle" (Bourdieu 1982). All social classes

try to maintain or improve their positions in the structure of social inequality by the investment of "educational capital". Each class tries to get advantages compared with the other groups by showing specific strategies of behaviour on the educational market of schools and universities, and so to achieve a change of the given conditions of inequality in their favour. This forces up the educational demands in general. Children from middle and upper class families have to develop strategies to avoid a social degrading and to be able to enter a career that is typical of their class. Children from the other classes have to develop strategies to win a best possible starting position for the transition to occupational life in spite of the intensified competition. In order to secure a certain general level of demands of the occupation, the highest starting position possible must be achieved for the career after school. That is why the efforts of all social classes are directed towards the aquisition of the most qualified graduation certificate possible to reach (Hurrelmann 1983b). The efforts for an optimizing of chances on the acquisition of a best possible starting position for the career after school run through the behavioural strategies of all social classes. If the students want to keep their social status today, they must acquire an educational graduation that is at least one formal degree of qualification above that of their parents' generation. Therefore, even children from working-class families are under pressure to acquire the graduation of the 10th grade at least; If they have only achieved the traditional graduation of the "Hauptschule" after 9 years of school, they have to fear not to get an acceptable occupation which meets the substancial and social conceptions of their parents. And children from the upper social classes have to strive for a best possible "Abitur" certificate in order to secure a university training, which is more difficult to achieve because of intensified requirements of entry, or at least a high position after school. The ~~p~~ ~~a~~ ~~c~~ ~~e~~ ~~s~~ of replacement between various qualified

demanding groups on the labour market makes these optimizing strategies necessary.

The competition between the social classes for the best starting position on the labour market takes place in school to the greatest extent. It is a competition with unequal starting positions, since taking and keeping up an "optimizing strategy" is best of all performed - as expected - by the children from middle and upper classes, who can best adapt themselves to the rules of the interactive and communicative system in school. These families keep their privileged position investing no more only economical, but increasingly also "cultural capital": They make sure that their offspring acquire those educational graduations necessary for the reproduction of their social status(Bourdieu 1981: 44).

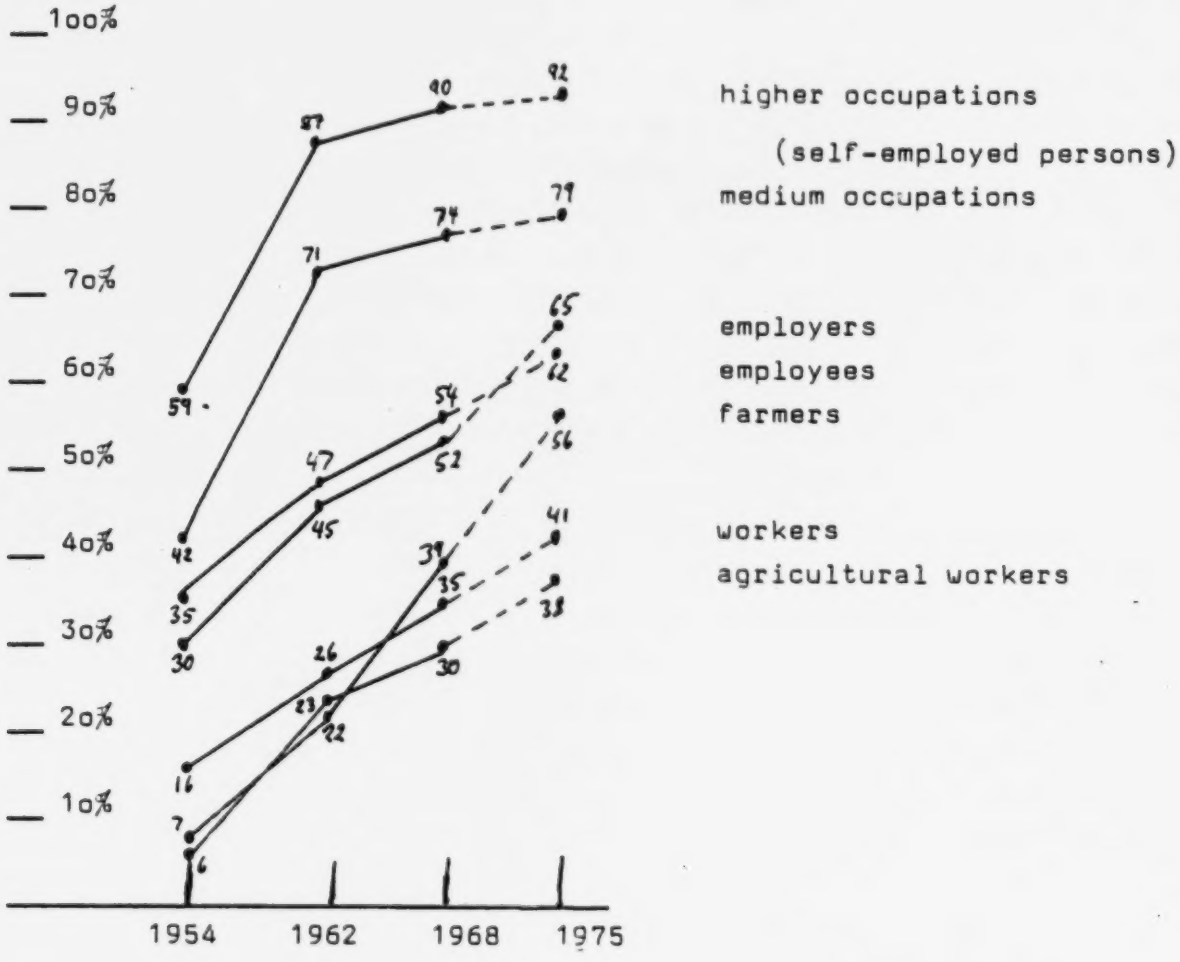
Socio-structural analyses made in the Federal Republic of Germany quite clearly show the effects of this process of rearrangement: The relative attendance of school of the 16 to 18 year old adolescents has essentially shifted within three decades, but it has hardly changed its socio-structural composition (Eigler et al. 1980: 59, Rolff 1981: 64).

Bourdieu could prove for France also, that the structure of objective relations of inequality between the classes has not shifted as a result of the educational expansion. The different changes have rather neutralized each other's effects. Diagram 1 shows that employers and farmers who had relied on economical mechanisms of reproduction for many generations have considerably intensified their educational involvement, and with that also the protection of cutural mechanisms of reproduction, for the last twenty years. Although there is also a clear intensification of the educational involvement of the working-class families, these families remain in lower places on the scale, while self-employed persons, leading employees and civil servants have maintained their already clear top-position by a once more intensified engagement.

In order to keep the distance between each other, all groups will have to stay in the "race for higher educational graduations".

Diagram 1

Shift of the Educational Structur in France
(relative school attendance of the 16 to 18 year old students from 1954 to 1968)



The broken lines represent the relative school attendance of the 18 year old students in 1975.

From: Bourdieu 1982: 263

If they want to keep the difference, each higher group will have to make sure that their privileges can not at all, or only at a later time, be acquired by the group below (Collins 1979: 191). The social and economical connections of the groups in the higher positions also help to support the formally high educational graduation: If necessary, these connections can make sure that an applicant for an attractive occupational position having the same formal qualifications is eliminated, because he does not have a "suitable social background"(Bourdieu 1982).

4. Social Implications and Conclusions

The social conditions of life that families are exposed to - and that is the result of this analysis - are still the starting point for the reproduction of social inequality in industrial countries of a western type today. They constitute the backgroud conditions of complex processes of socialization which pass on certain cognitive, motivational, linguistical and social competences to the young members of the family. These competences have proved to be significant conditions of success in school. Success in schoól, on the other hand, is the necessary requirement for the entry to economical and vocational positions, which decisively influence the position in the hierarchy of social inequality.

These statements are to be taken as tendentious descriptions. The exact empirical foundation is still controversial as the debate about Jencks's model of causality (1972) has shown. One must be warned of deterministic assumptions about the connection of social origin, success in school and occupational position, which are supported now and then in socialization research. On this point, one can agree to Bertram's critical estimation (1981: 147), who critically settles class-specific socialization research in this respect. On the other hand, the insufficient empirical foundation of the connection between variables, which just has to be

accepted in social science research, must not prevent the formulation of descriptions of tendency indicating essential connections in the social structure. The primary cognitive interest of this contribution is to look at family and school socialization in the perspective of the reproduction of social inequality. Accordingly, the demands of the micro-analysis have to stand behind those of the macro-analysis. And from this point of view, the result of the analysis is definite: As family and school are relatively autonomous as social sub-systems, effects of both fields independent on social origin occur on the reproduction of social inequality. But these effects have not enough strength and dissemination to interfere with those still typical of the structure which assume a social position in the hierarchy of social inequality.

Especially a decicive independent effect of the educational system is therefore out of the question. The status in school is awarded according to individually produced achievements, a required criterion, but it has a tight connection with the attributed criterion of family origin. Although the possibilities of access to all educational courses have been opened in the previous decades and so the privileges of past times have been abolished de jure, they still exist de facto, because the formal protection of social inequality by the educational mechanisms described remains effective. The educational system operates mostly in favour of those children who have chosen the right parents. So, the process of selection in school is formally an essential mechanism of the reproduction of social inequality in society. The effective starting point of reproduction, however, is external to the educational system. This is an important date for the discussion in social and educational politics: If socio-political measures of intervention are planned to be effective, they have to start from the working situation and - strongly influenced by this - the social and material conditions of life of the adult members of the family. The

change of relations to work by means of self-administration of work and worker participation, as well as the shift of social and economical establishment of priorities towards a subjectively comprehensible determination of sense and aims of the working process are urgent in thsi perspective. Further - rather socio-political - measures of intervention have to relate to an influencing of the social and material enviroment, the "socialization enviroment" of families: Support by nursery schools, day nurseries and all-day schools, by an enrichment of the living enviroment and free time resources belongs to this context (Kaufmann et al. 1980). It must be a question of providing constitutive conditions for desirable processes of socialization. These are not absolutely identical with those found in middle classes, but a change of the socialization enviroment of the lower classes towards the middle class culture seems to be a sensible socio-political objective in this situation.

As far as pedagogic forms of intervention are concerned, they put the main stress on the early cognitive and social support of children of pre-school and primary school age. The term "compensating education" has compromised the efforts for early pedagogic support because of its plainly socio-cultural implication of deficits. If the "nonsense of compensating education", as Bernstein has called it, is to stop, the learning subjects must essentially more than before go into cognitive and linguistical patterns of assimilating reality in working and lower class families. It must also include the children's everyday experiences of family and neighbourhood enviroment. "If the culture of the teacher is to become part of the children's consciousness, the culture of the child must first of all be existing in the teacher's consciousness" (Bernstein 1972: 135). The normal school suffers from the fact that the teachers are so unsuccessful in their process of becoming open that they - intentionally or intuitively - help those children most whose pattern of behaviour and communication comply best with their own ones. Until now, the support programs have only

basically been successful in organizing the style of interaction and communication between teachers and students in such a way that certain children are not disadvantaged in the valuation of their performance in school just because of a fixed "deviant" style.
It is urgent to reestablish and develop further the preschool and school support programs. They must be untied from the illusion of giving a prospect of social promotion to disadvantaged children as it was predominat in the "compensation" programs. A positive effect on the social and cognitive development of children can be expected from pedagogic support programs which concentrate on systematic help in speaking and reading, on strategies of individualizing learning processes, on didactic differentiation of teaching programs and on attempts to increase the extracurricular sphere of experience of the children. Even if the situation of some children's performance in school, and with that their possible chance for a later acquisition of social status can be improved by such support programs, no consequences for the change of processes of social mobility should be deduced from this: The reproduction of unfavourable social and financial conditions of the families' lives, which constitute the disadvantaging socialization enviroment for the children, is only changed a little by pedagogic measures.

The estimation of pedagogic support measures clearly shows the possibilities and limits of the educational system with regard to socio-politically important reform measures in general and to measures of correcting socialization processes in the families as a starting point for the reproduction of social inequality in particular: On the one hand, the educational system can influence the consequences of socialization conditions in the families at best, but not these conditions themselves. On the other hand, the educational system itself, and also the socialization processes taking place in it, have a socio-structural cause. Nevertheless: The possibilities of school - even though they are weak - to

correct objectively unsatisfying results of class- and situation-specific socialization may not be ignored. As far as pedagogic support programs are not designed as a pure strategy of conformation to existing standarts of behaviour and communication, but take a comprehensive extension of the children's and adolescents' chances of learning and experiencing into account, they are important and effective socio-political measures in a broad understanding. This is especially true, if they are included in complex structural changes in the educational system. The experiences with integrated school systems, as for example the comprehensive schools, prove that the structural protection of support measures and their embedment in a stimulating and pleasant climate of learning and social relations in school can clearly improve the developmental chances of disadvantaged children.

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